

Message Text

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PAGE 01 STATE 211831
ORIGIN SS-15

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 /016 R

66011

DRAFTED BY:EA/PHL:JSARTORIUS:PAW

APPROVED BY:EA/PHL:JSARTORIUS:

S/S-O:KRSMITH

-----086375 030850Z /10

P 030235Z SEP 77

FM SECSTATE WASHDC

INFO CINCPAC

CINCPACFLT PRIORITY

CINCPACAF PRIORITY

CINCPACREPPHIL SUBIC PRIORITY

S E C R E T STATE 211831

EXDIS MILITARY HANDLE AS SPECAT EXCLUSIVE, CINCPAC ALSO FOR POLAD

FOLLOWING REPEAT MANILA 13798 SENT ACTION SECSTATE SEP 01.

QUOTE S E C R E T MANILA 13798

EXDIS

FOR HOLBROOKE

DEPARTMENT PASS TO SECDEF, JCS, CINCPAC, (FOR POLAD)

CINCPACFLT, CINCPACAF AND CINCPACREPPHIL SUBIC AS INFO SPECAT

EXCLUSIVE

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: MARR, RP

SUBJECT: PHILIPPINE BASE NEGOTIATIONS

REF: (A) STATE 204805; (B) MANILA 13107

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 02 STATE 211831

1. SUMMARY. WE AGREE IN GENERAL WITH DRAFT ON BASE
NEGOTIATIONS (REF A) BUT WOULD EMPHASIZE EVEN MORE THOSE
FACTORS FAVORING MEASURED PACE. MARCOS HAS MORE TO GAIN
THAN WE IN NEW AGREEMENT AND WE SHOULD BE ALERT
FOR OPPORTUNITIES TO STRETCH AND SHAPE THE NEGOTIATING
PROCESS WITHOUT ENDANGERING OUR OPERATIONAL NEEDS. YOUR
VISIT WILL BE TIMELY AND KEY. END SUMMARY.

2. WE AGREE WITH GENERAL THRUST OF DRAFT POSITION PAPER (REF A) BUT WOULD SUGGEST THAT EVEN MORE ATTENTION BE GIVEN TO PACE IN NEGOTIATING PROCESS AND TO ALTERNATIVES TO FORMAL AGREEMENT. IN THIS REGARD FOLLOWING CONSIDERATIONS BEAR ON RESPECTIVE U.S. AND PHILIPPINE POSITIONS.

3. U.S. OBJECTIVES. WHILE WE HAVE NOT RECEIVED RESULTS OF ALL PERTINENT POLICY STUDIES, WE SEE PRIMARY U.S. OBJECTIVES REGARDING BASES ALONG FOLLOWING LINES:

A. CONTINUED ACCESS TO FACILITIES AT SUBIC AND CLARK WE DEEM ESSENTIAL. (FOR CLARK WE WOULD EXPECT SIGNIFICANT MANPOWER REDUCTIONS AND REDEPLOYMENTS OF SOME MAC ELEMENTS. FOR SUBIC THERE WOULD BE NO SIGNIFICANT CHANGES.)

B. CONTINUED UNHAMPERED OPERATIONAL CONTROL OVER THOSE FACILITIES.

C. NO SECURITY COMMITMENT TO THE PHILIPPINES BEYOND THE LANGUAGE OF THE MUTUAL DEFENSE TREATY OF 1951; (WE WOULD JUDGE INCIDENTS IN THE "PACIFIC AREA", IE, THE SPRATLYS, ON A CASE-BY-CASE BASIS).

D. PAYMENT OF MINIMAL COMPENSATION FOR CONTINUED USE OF THE BASES, WITH WHATEVER COMPENSATION CONCENTRATED IN ECONOMIC AREAS).

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 03 STATE 211831

4. FACTORS BEARING ON U.S. OBJECTIVES.

A. INTEREST IN NOT CONVEYING MISLEADING SIGNALS ABOUT OUR SECURITY INTENTIONS TO JAPAN, KOREA, ASEAN, PRCCVUTMUSSR, AND VIETNAM.

B. INTEREST IN AVOIDING EMOTIONAL STANDOFF WITH GOP WHICH COULD LEAD TO SHARPLY INCREASED LABOR HARAASMENT, SECURITY PRESSURES, ETC. AT THE BASES.

5. PHILIPPINE OBJECTIVES. DISCUSSION WITH MARCOS WILL HELP INDICATE MORE CLEARLY WHAT IS IN HIS MIND, BUT CURRENTLY WE SEE MARCOS' PRIMARY OBJECTIVES REGARDING BASES AS FOLLOWS:

A. OBTAIN REASSURANCES FROM U.S. THAT WE CONTINUE TO CARE ABOUT THE SECURITY OF THE PHILIPPINES AND THE REGIONAL POWER EQUATION.

B. RETAIN U.S. MILITARY PRESENCE IN PHILIPPINES SUFFICIENT FOR PHILIPPINE AND ASEAN SECURITY REQUIREMENTS, AT LEAST FOR THE NEXT FIVE YEARS. (MARCOS PROBABLY SEES MORE VALUE IN U.S. NAVAL PRESENCE AT SUBIC BUT COULD VIEW F-4S AT CLARK AS IMPORTANT UNTIL PHILIPPINE AIR INTERCEPTOR CAPABILITIES ARE UPDATED.)

C. UNDERLINE PHILIPPINE SOVEREIGNTY OVER BASES

BY PROVIDING FOR PRESUMED U.S. DEPARTURE EARLIER THAN 1991.

C. OBTAIN SUBSTANTIAL COMPENSATION FOR U.S. USE OF BASES.

6. FACTORS BEARING ON MARCOS' OBJECTIVES.

A. PRESSURE FROM PHILIPPINE MILITARY TO RESUME NEGOTIATIONS. THEY ANTICIPATE COMPENSATION IN MAGNITUDE OF \$100-200 MILLION PER YEAR. BEYOND THAT SOME AMBITIOUS COLONELS ARE PUSHING FOR INVOLVEMENT IN OPERATIONS AT CLARK AND SUBIC.

B. CONCERN THAT POSITIVE FINANCIAL IMPACT OF BASES ON PHILIPPINE ECONOMY NOT BE ABRUPTLY OR SIGNIFICANTLY DISRUPTED.

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 04 STATE 211831

C. CONCERN THAT THE BASES PREJUDICE HIS INTERNATIONAL IMAGE, WHICH MIGHT BE MUTED BY APPEARANCES OF ACTIVE AND SUBSTANTIVE NEGOTIATIONS.

D. D. WARINESS ABOUT SIGNING NEW AGREEMENT WHICH WOULD TEND TO CLOSE OFF BASES ISSUE FROM CONVENIENT EXPLOITATION.

E. WARINESS ABOUT FATE OF NEW AGREEMENT BEFORE U.S. CONGRESS UNTIL HIS HUMAN RIGHTS RECORD AND IMAGE ARE ABLE TO BEAR CLOSER PUBLIC SCRUTINY AND UNTIL HE CAN BE ASSURED CONGRESS WOULD SUPPORT DESIRED FILIPINIZATION AND COMPENSATION AGREEMENT.

7. WITH THESE OBJECTIVES AND FACTORS IN MIND, MARCOS WOULD SEEM TO HAVE MORE TO GAIN FROM A NEW AGREEMENT THAN WE. MARCOS PRESUMABLY WOULD GET ADDED COMPENSATION, IMPROVED ACCESS TO BASE OPERATIONS AND GREATER LEVERAGE TO EFFECT BASIC CHANGES PRIOR TO 1991. PERHAPS THE MOST WE COULD HOPE FOR IN RETURN WOULD BE AN OPERATIONAL SETTING PRESUMABLY LESS VULNERABLE TO GOP PRESSURES. THIS WOULD BE A QUESTIONABLE GAIN GIVEN A) HISTORY OF PROBLEMS WE HAVE HAD AT OTHER BASES OVERSEAS WHERE MORE UP-TO-DATE AGREEMENTS PREVAIL, AND B) DEEPLY ROOTED SENSITIVITIES OF THE PHILIPPINE ENVIRONMENT. REALISTICALLY, EVEN WITH A NEW AGREEMENT, WE EXPECT TO CONTINUE TO HAVE SIGNIFICANT OPERATIONAL PROBLEMS SO LONG AS OUR FORCES REMAIN ON PHILIPPINE TERRITORY. PUT SIMPLY, CONCLUDING A NEW AGREEMENT WILL COST US MONEY AND COULD REVIVE DEBATE CONCERNING U.S. POSTURE IN ASIA/PACIFIC. A NEW AGREEMENT, HOWEVER, WOULD CARRY NO ASSURANCE THAT OUR SITUATION AT THE BASES WILL BE MUCH MORE SECURE THAN IT IS NOW.

8. WE SUSPECT THAT MARCOS STILL HAS DOUBTS ABOUT PRESSING HARD ON THE BASES. THIS COULD OFFER US MORE

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 05 STATE 211831

OPPORTUNITIES TO INFLUENCE THE FORMAT AND PACE OF
NEGOTIATIONS THAN SEEMS TO BE ASSUMED IN THE DRAFT
POSITION PAPER (REF A). PRESUMABLY YOU WILL LEARN MORE
ABOUT THIS DURING YOUR MEETING WITH MARCOS. MEANWHILE WE
HAVE ALL NETS OUT AND WILL ADVISE YOU PROMPTLY OF ANY
SIGNIFICANT CATCHES.
STULL UNQUOTE CHRISTOPHER

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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: Z
Capture Date: 01-Jan-1994 12:00:00 am
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: NEGOTIATIONS, MILITARY BASES
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Sent Date: 03-Sep-1977 12:00:00 am
Decaption Date: 22 May 2009
Decaption Note: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 22 May 2009
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1977STATE211831
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: EA/PHL:JSARTORIUS:PAW
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Expiration:
Film Number: D770319-1250
Format: TEL
From: STATE
Handling Restrictions:
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1977/newtext/t19770998/aaaadfba.tel
Line Count: 182
Litigation Code IDs:
Litigation Codes:
Litigation History:
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Message ID: db3ffb4d-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Office: ORIGIN SS
Original Classification: SECRET
Original Handling Restrictions: EXDIS
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 4
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: SECRET
Previous Handling Restrictions: EXDIS
Reference: 77 STATE 204805, 77 MANILA 13107
Retention: 0
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 16-Mar-2005 12:00:00 am
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 1389897
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: PHILIPPINE BASE NEGOTIATIONS
TAGS: MARR, RP, US
To: CINCPAC CINCPACFLT MULTIPLE
Type: TE
vdkgvwkey: odbc://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/db3ffb4d-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
22 May 2009
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009